

THE WESTERN DEMOCRAT.

R. P. WARING, Editor and Proprietor.

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HON. ALEXANDER H. STEPHENS' LETTER.

CRAWFORDVILLE, GEORGIA, 9th May, 1855.

DEAR SIR:—Your letter of the 5th inst. was received some days ago, and should have been answered much earlier, but for my absence from home. The rumor you mention in relation to my candidacy for reelection to Congress, is true. I have stated, and repeated on various occasions, that I was not, and did not expect to be a candidate—the same I now say to you. The reason of this declaration on my part, was the fact, that large numbers of our old political friends seemed to be entering into new combinations, with new objects, purposes and principles of which I was not informed, and never could be, according to the rules of their action, and the opinions I entertain. Hence my conclusion that they had no further use for me as their Representative; for I presumed they knew enough of me to be assured, if they had any secret aims or objects to accomplish, that they never could get my consent, even if they desired it, to become a dumb instrument to execute such a purpose. I certainly never did, and never shall, go before the people as a candidate for their suffrages with my principles in my pocket. It has been the pride of my life, heretofore, not only to make known fully and freely my sentiments upon all questions of public policy, but in vindication of those sentiments thus avowed, to meet any antagonists arrayed against them, in open and manly strife—face to face and toe to toe. From this rule of action, by which I have up to this time been governed, I shall never depart. But you ask me what are my opinions and views of this new party called Know-Nothing, with a request that you be permitted to publish them. My opinions and views thus solicited, shall be given most cheerfully, and as fully and clearly as my time, under the pressure of business, will allow. You can do with them as you please—publish them or not, as you like. They are the views of a private citizen. I am at present, to all intents and purposes whatsoever, literally one of the people. I hold no office nor seek any, and as one of the people I shall speak to you and them on this, and on all occasions, with that frankness and independence which it becomes a freeman to bear towards his fellows. And in giving my views of "Know-Nothing," I ought, perhaps, to promise by saying, and saying most truly, that I really "know nothing" about the principles, aims or objects of the party I am about to speak of—they are all kept secret—being communicated and made known only to the initiated, and not to those until after being first pledged and sworn. This, to me, is a very great objection to the whole organization. All political principles, which are sought to be carried out in Legislation by any body or set of men in a republic, in my opinion, ought to be openly avowed and publicly proclaimed. Truth never shuns the light nor shrinks from investigation—or at least it ought never to do it. Hiding places, or secret coverts, are natural resorts for error. It is, therefore, a circumstance quite sufficient to excite suspicion against the merit, to see it pursuing such a course. And in republics where free discussion and full investigation by a virtuous and intelligent people is allowed, there never can be any just grounds to fear any danger even from the greatest errors, either in religion or politics. All questions, therefore, relating to the government of a free people, ought to be made known, clearly understood, fully discussed, and understandingly acted upon. Indeed, I do not believe that a Republican Government can last long, when this is not the case. In my opinion, no man is fit to represent a free people who has any private or secret objects, or aims, that he does not openly avow, or who is not really and willingly, at all times, when required or asked, candidly and truthfully, to proclaim to the assembled multitude not only his principles, but his views and sentiments upon all questions that may come before him in his representative capacity. It was on this basis that Representative Government was founded, and on this alone can it be maintained in purity and safety. And if a secret party shall be so far successful in this country as to bring the Government in all its departments, and functions under the banful influence of its control and power, political ruin will inevitably ensue. No truth in politics can be more easily and firmly established, either by reason or from history, upon principle or authority, than this. These are my opinions, candidly expressed.

I know that many good and true men in Georgia differ with me in this particular—thousands of them. I do not, however, have joined this secret order with good intentions. Some of them have told me so, and I do not question their motives. And thousands more will perhaps do it with the same intentions and motives. Should it be a short-lived affair, no harm will, or any credit of it. But let it succeed—let it carry all the elections, State and Federal—let the natural and inevitable laws of its own organism be once fully developed—and the country will go by the board. It will go—France did. The first Jacobin Club was organized in Paris on the 6th November, 1789, under the alluring name of "the Friends of the Constitution," quite as specious as that we now hear of "Americans shall rule America." Many of the best men and truest patriots in Paris joined it—and thousands of the same sort of men joined the affiliate clubs afterwards—little dreaming of the deadly fumes of the viper they were nurturing in their bosoms. Many of these very men afterwards went to the guillotine, by orders passed secretly, in these very clubs. All legislation was settled in the clubs—members of the National Assembly and Convention, all of them, or most of them, were members of the clubs, for they could not otherwise be elected. And after the question was settled in the clubs, the member next day went to the nominal Halls of Legislation nothing but trembling automaton, to register the edicts of the "Order," though it were to lead a monarch, or to cause the blood of the best of their own number to flow beneath the stroke of the axe. Is history of no use? Or do our people vainly imagine that Americans would not do as the French did under like circumstances? Is thy servant a dog that he should do this thing? said the haughty, self-confident Hazeel. Yet, he did all that he had been told he would do. "Let him that thinketh he is a snail take heed lest he fall." Human nature is the same compound of weak frailties and erring passions everywhere. Of these clubs in France, an eloquent writer says:

"From all other scourges which had afflicted mankind, in every age and in every nation, there had been some temporary refuge, some shelter into the storm might pass. During the heathenism of antiquity, and the barbarism of the middle ages, the temple of a god, or the shrine of a saint afforded a refuge from despotism, from a popular rage, but French Jacobins, whether native or adopted, treated with equal scorn the sentiments of religion and the feelings of humanity; and all that man had gathered from his experience upon earth, and the revelations he hoped had been made him from the sky, to bless and adorn his mortal existence, and elevate his soul with immortal aspirations, were spurned as imposture by these fell de trovers. They would have depraved man from his humanity, as they attempted to deprave God out of his universe. Not contented with France as a subject for their ruthless experiments—Europe itself being too narrow for their exploits—they sent their propagandists to the new world, with designs about as cheritable as those with which Satan entered Eden."

This is but a faint picture of some of the scenes enacted by that self-same party, which was at first formed by those who styled themselves "the Friends of the Constitution." And where did these "secret Councils" we now hear of come from? Not from France it is true—but from that land of isms, where the people would have gone into anarchy long ago, if it had not been for the conservative influence of the more stable-minded men of the South. And what scenes have we lately witnessed in the Massachusetts Legislature, where the new political organism has more fully developed itself than anywhere else. What are its traits there? Under the name of "The American Party," they have armed themselves against the Constitution of our common country which they were sworn to support—with every member of the Legislature, I believe, save right, belonging to "the order," they have by an overwhelming majority voted to depose Judge Loring, for the discharge of his official duty, in issuing a warrant as United States Commissioner, to cause the arrest of the fugitive slave Burns. In reviewing this most unheard of outrage upon the Constitution, the National Intelligencer, at Washington, says it "shudders for the Judiciary." And if they go on as they have begun, will may the country "shudder," not only for the Judiciary, but for everything else we hold most sacred. "If these things be done in the green tree, what may you expect in the dry?"

But I have been anticipating somewhat. I was on the preliminary question: that is, the secrecy which lies at the foundation of the party—that atmosphere of darkness in which "it lives, and moves, and has its being," and without which probably it could not exist. I do not, however, intend to stop with that. I will go further, and give, now, my opinion upon these questions, which are said to be within the range of its secret objects and aims. The principles are published (or those principles which are attributed to the Order, though no body as an organized party avow them) have, as I understand them, two leading

ideas, and two only. These are a proscription by an exclusion from office of all Catholics, as a class, and a proscription of all persons of foreign birth, as a class; the latter to be accomplished not only by an exclusion from office of all foreigners who are not citizens by naturalization, but to be more effectually carried out by an abrogation of the naturalization law for the future, or such an amendment as would be virtually tantamount to it. These, we are told, are the great ostensible objects for all this machinery—these, on these—pledges—secret signs—equivocations—denials, and what not. And what I have to say of them is, that if these in deed and in truth be the principles attempted to be carried out, then I am opposed to both of them, openly and unqualifiedly.

I am opposed to them "in a double aspect," both as a basis of party organization and upon their merits as questions of public policy. As the basis of party organization, they are founded on the very erroneous principles of looking, not to have the country shall be governed, but who shall hold the offices—not to whether we shall have wise and wholesome laws, but who shall "rule us," though they may bring ruin with their rule. Upon this principle, Trumbull, who defeated General Shields for the Senate in Illinois, can be as good a "Know-Nothing" as any man in the late "Macon Club," though he may vote, as he doubtless will, to repeal the Fugitive Slave law, and against the admission of any slave State in the Union; while Shields, who has ever stood by the Constitution, must be rejected by the "Know-Nothings," because he was not born in the country! Upon this principle a Boston Abolitionist, who denies the inspiration of the Bible, because it sanctions slavery, is to be sustained by Georgia "Know-Nothings" in preference to one, barely because I will not "bow the knee to Baal," this false political God they have set up. The only basis of party organization is an agreement amongst those who enter into it upon the paramount question of the day. And no party can last long without bringing disaster and ruin in its train, founded upon any other principle. The old National Whig Party tried the experiment when there was radical difference of opinion on such questions, and went to pieces. The National Democrat party are now trying a similar experiment, and are experiencing a similar fate. This is what the matter with it. Its vital functions are deranged—hence that disease which now afflicts it worse than dry rot. And what we of the South now should do is, not to go into any "Know-Nothing" mummery or mischief, as it may be, but to stand firmly by those men at the North who are true to the Constitution and the Union, without regard either to their birth place or religion. The question we should consider is not simply who "shall rule America," but who will vote for such measures as will best promote the interests of America, and with that the interests of mankind.

But to pass to the other view of these principles—that is, the consideration of them as questions of public policy. With me, they both stand in no better light in this aspect than they do in the other. The first assumes temporal jurisdiction in "forum conscientiae"—to which I am quite as much opposed as I am to the spiritual powers controlling the temporal. One is as bad as the other—both are bad. I am utterly opposed to mingling religion with politics in any way whatever, and especially am I opposed to making it a test in qualifications for civil office. Religion is a matter between a man and his Creator, with which governments should have nothing to do. In this country the Constitution guarantees to every citizen the right to entertain whatever creed he pleases, or no creed at all if he is so inclined, and no other man has a right to pry into his conscience to inquire what he believes, or what he does not believe. As a citizen and as a member of society, he is to be judged by his acts and not by his creed. A Catholic, therefore, in our country, and in all countries ought, as all other citizens, to be permitted to stand or fall in public favor and estimation upon his own individual merits. "Every body should stand upon its own bottom."

But I think of all the christian denominations in the United States, the Catholics are the last that Southern people should join in attempting to put under the ban of civil proscription. For, as a church, they have never warred against us or our peculiar institutions. No man can say as much of New England Baptists, Presbyterians or Methodists; the long roll of abolition petitions with which Congress has been so much excited and agitated for years past, come not from the Catholics. Their pulpits at the North are not desecrated every Sabbath with anathemas against slavery. And of the three thousand New England Clergymen who sent the anti-Nebraska memorials to the Senate last year, not one was a Catholic, as I have been informed and believe. Why, then, should we Southern men join the Puritans of the North to proscribe from office the Catholics on account of their religion? Let them and their religion be as bad as can be, or as their accusers say they are, they cannot be worse than these same Puritanical accusers, who started this persecution against them say that we are. They say we are going to perdition for the enormous sin of holding slaves. The Pope, with all his followers, cannot, I suppose, even in their judgment, be going to a worse place for doing what they consider the monstrous absurdity of "humanizing" conversion. And, for my part, I would about as soon risk my own chance for Heaven with him, and his crowd too, as with these self-righteous hypocrites, who deal out fire and brimstone so liberally upon our heads. At any rate, I have no hesitancy in declaring that I should much sooner risk my civil rights with the American Catholics, whom they are attempting to drive from office than with them. But, sir, I am opposed to their proscription upon principle. If it is once begun, there is no telling where it will end. When faction once tastes the blood of a victim, it seldom ceases its ravages among the fold so long as a single remaining one, be the number at first ever so great, is left surviving. It was to guard against any such consequences, as would certainly ensue in this country if this effort at proscription of this sect of religionists should be successful, that that wise provision to which I have alluded was put in the fundamental law of the Union. And to maintain it intact, in letter and spirit, with steadfastness at this time, I hold to be a most solemn public duty.

And now, as to the other idea—the proscription of foreigners—and more particularly that view of it which looks to the denial of citizenship to all those who may hereafter seek a home in this country and choose to cast their lots and destinies with us. This is a favorite idea with many who have not thought of its effects or reflected much upon its consequences. The abrogation of the naturalization laws would not stop immigration, nor would the extension of the term of probation, to the period of twenty-one years, do it. This current of emigration from the East to the West, and from the Old to the New World, which commenced by the settlement of this continent by Europeans, would still go on. And what would be the effect, even under the most modified form of the proposed measure—that is, of an extension of the period of probation in five to twenty-one years, before citizenship should be granted? At the end of the first twenty-one years from the commencement of the law, we should have several millions of people in our midst—men of our own race—occupying the unenviable position of being a degraded caste in society, a species of serfs without the just franchise of a freeman, or the needful protection due to a slave. This would be at war with all my ideas of American Republicanism as I have been taught them and gloried in them from my youth up. If there be danger now to our institutions, (as some seem to imagine, but which I am far from feeling or believing) from foreigners as a class, would not the danger be greatly enhanced by the proposed remedy? Now, it is true, they are made to bear their share of the burdens of Government, but are permitted, after a residence of five years, and taking an oath to support the Constitution, to enjoy their just participation in the privileges, honors and immunities which it secures. Would they be less likely to be attached to the Government and its principles under the operation of the present system, than they would be under the proposed one, which would treat them as not much better than outcasts and outlaws? All writers of note, from the earliest to the latest, who have treated upon the elements and component parts, or members of communities and States, have pointed this out as a source of real danger—having a large number of the same race not only aliens by birth, but aliens in heart and feeling in the bosom of society.

Such was, to a great extent, the condition of the Helots in Greece—men of the same race placed in an inferior position, and forming within themselves a degraded class. I wish to see no such state of things in this country. With us at the South, it is true, we have a "degraded caste," but it is of a race fitted by nature for their subordinate position. The negro, with us, fills that place in society and under our system of civilization for which he was designed by nature. No training can fit him for either social or political equality with his superiors; at least history furnishes us with no instance of the negro being elevated to a position with us, or even to a position of equality with the negro. But such would not be the case with men of the same race and coming from the State without ourselves. And what appears not a lit-

tle strange and singular to me in considering this late movement is, that if it did not originate with, yet it is now so generally and zealously favored by so many of those men at the North who have expended so much of their misguided philanthropy in behalf of our slaves. They have been endeavoring for years to elevate the African to an equality socially and politically with the white man. And now, they are wing heaven and earth to degrade the white man to a condition lower than that held by the negro in the South. The Massachusetts "Know-Nothing" Legislature passed a bill lately to amend their Constitution, so as to exclude from the polls in that State, hereafter, all naturalized citizens from whatever nation they may come; and yet they will allow a runaway negro slave from the South the same right to vote that they give to their own native born sons! They thus exhibit the strange paradox of warring against their own race—their own blood—even their own "kith and kin," it may be, while they are vainly and fanatically endeavoring to reverse the order of nature, by making the black man equal to the white. Shall we second them in any such movement? Shall we even countenance them so far as to bear the same—to say nothing of the same pledges, promises, signs and symbols? Shall we affiliate and unite ourselves under the same banner with men whose acts show them to be governed by such principles, and to be bent on such a purpose? This is a question for Southern men to consider. Others too may do it if they choose; but I tell you, I never shall. I am not at all astonished at the rapid spread of this new sentiment at the North, or rather new way of giving embodiment and life to an old sentiment, long cherished by a large class of the Northern people, notwithstanding the paradox. It is true "Know-Nothingism" did not originate, as I understand its origin, with the class I allude to. It commenced with the laborers and men dependent upon capital for work and employment. It sprang from the antagonism of their interests to foreigners, seeking like employments, who were underbidding them in the amount of wages. But many capitalists of that section, the men who hold the land and property in their own hands, wishing to dispense with laborers and employees, whose votes at the polls are equal to their own, seized upon this new way of effecting their old, long-cherished desire. And the more eagerly they saw that many of the very men whom they have ever dreaded as the insuperable obstacle between them and their purposes, had become the willing though unconscious instruments of carrying that purpose out, which, from the beginning, was a desire to have a votingless population to do their work, and perform all the labor, both in city, town and country, which capital may require. And as certainly as such a law shall be passed, so far from its checking immigration, there will be whole cargoes of people brought over, and literally bought up in foreign ports—to be brought over in American ships to supply the market for labor throughout all the free States of the Union. The African Slave Trade, if reopened, would not exhibit a worse spectacle in trafficking in human flesh, than those most deluded men of the North who started this thing, and who are now aiding to accomplish the end, may find that they have but kindled a flame of consume themselves. The whole substratum of Northern society will soon be filling up with a class who can work, and though white cannot vote. This is what the would-be lords of that section have been wanting for a long time. It is a scheme with many of them to get white slaves instead of black ones. No American laborer, or man seeking employment there, who has a vote, need to expect to be retained long when his place can be more cheaply filled by a foreigner, who has none. This will be the practical working of the proposed reformation. This is the philosophy of the thing. It is a blow at the ballot box. It is an insidious attack upon general suffrage. In a line with this policy, the "Know-Nothing" Governor of Connecticut has already recommended the passage of a law denying the right of voting to all who cannot read and write. And hence, the great efforts which are now being made throughout the North to influence the elections, not only these, but in spending their money in the publication of books and tracts, written by "nobody knows who," and scattered throughout the Southern States, to influence elections here by appealing to the worst passions and strongest prejudices of our nature, not omitting those even which bad and wicked men can evoke under the sacred but prostituted name of religion.

Unfortunately for the country, many evils, which all good men regret and deplore, exist at this time, which have a direct tendency wonderfully to aid and move forward this ill-omened crusade. These relate to the appointment of so many foreigners, wholly unfit, not only to minor offices at home, but to represent our country as Ministers abroad. And to the great frauds and gross abuses which at present attend the administration of our naturalization laws—these are evils which are felt by the whole country, and they ought to be corrected. Not by a proscription of all foreigners, without regard to individual merits. But, in the first place, by so amending the naturalization laws, as effectually to check and prevent these frauds and abuses. And, in the second place, to hold to strict accountability at the polls, in our elections, all those public functionaries, whether with partisan views, or from whatever motive, thus improper, ly confer office, whether high or low, under undeserving foreigners, the exclusion of native born citizens, better qualified to fill them. Another evil now felt, and which ought to be remedied, is the flooding, it is said, of some of the cities with paupers and criminals from other countries. These ought all to be unconditionally excluded and prohibited from coming amongst us—there is no reason why we should be the feeders of other nations' paupers, or either the keepers or exorcisers of their felons—these evils can and ought to be remedied without resorting to an indiscriminate onslaught upon all who by industry, enterprise and merit, may choose to better their condition in abandoning the respective dynasties of the old world, in which they may chance to have been born, and by uniting their energies with ours, may feel a pride in advancing the prosperity, development and progress of a common country not much less dear to them than us. Against those who thus worthily come, who quit the misruled Empires of their "father land," whose hearts have been fired with the love of our ideas and our institutions, even in distant climes, I would not close the door of admission. But to all such as our fathers did at first, so I would continue most freely and generously to extend a welcome hand. We have from such a class nothing to fear. When in battle or in the walks of civil life, did any such prove traitor or recreant to the flag or cause of his country? On what occasion have any such ever proven untrue or disloyal to the Constitution?

I will not say that no foreigner has ever been untrue to the Constitution; but as a class, they certainly have not proven themselves so to be. Indeed, I know of but one class of people in the United States at this time that I look upon as dangerous to the country. That class are neither foreigners or Catholics—they are those native born traitors at the North, who are disloyal to the Constitution of that country which gave them birth, and under whose beneficent institutions they have been reared and nurtured. Many of them are "Know-Nothings." This class of men at the North, of which the Massachusetts, New Hampshire and Connecticut "Know-Nothing" Legislatures are but samples, I consider as our worst enemies. And to put them down, I will join, as political allies now and forever, all true patriots at the North and South, whether native or adopted, Jews or Gentiles.

What our Georgia friends, whether Whigs or Democrats, who have gone into this "New Order," are really after, or what they intend to do, I cannot imagine. Those of whom I know have assured me that their object is reform, both in our State and Federal Administrations—to put better and truer men in the places of those who now wield authority—that they have no sympathies as party men or otherwise with that class I speak of at the North—that they are for sustaining the Union platform of our State of 1850, and that the mask of secrecy will soon be removed when all will be made public. If these be their objects, and also to check the frauds and correct the abuses in the existing naturalization laws, which I have mentioned, without the indiscriminate proscription of any class of citizens on account of their birth-place or religion, then they will have my co-operation, as I have told them, in every proper and legitimate way, to effect such a reformation. Not as a secretly initiated co-worker in the dark for any purpose, but as an open and bold advocate of truth in the light of day. But will they do as they say? Will they throw off the mask? That is the question. Is it possible that they will continue in political party fellowship with their "worthy brethren" of Massachusetts, Connecticut, New Hampshire, and the entire North? Every one of whom elected to the next

Congress is our deadly foe! Do they intend to continue their alliance with these open enemies to our institutions and the Constitution of the country under the totally mis-named association of the "American Party"—the very principle upon which it is based being anti-American throughout?

True Americanism, as I have learned it, is like true Christianity—disciples in neither are confined to any nation, clime, or soil whatsoever. Americanism is not the product of the soil; it springs not from the land or the ground; it is not of the earth, or earthly; it emanates from the head and the heart; it looks upward, and onward, and outward; its life and soul are those grand ideas of government which characterize our institutions and distinguish us from all other people; and there is no two features in our system which so signally distinguish us from all other nations, as free toleration of religion and the doctrine of expatriation—the right of a man to throw off his allegiance to any and every other State, Prince, or Potentate whatsoever, and by naturalization to be incorporated as citizens into our body politic. Both these principles are specially provided for and firmly established in our Constitution. But these American ideas which were proclaimed in 1789 by our "fathers or forefathers" at this day derided and scoffed at. We are now told that "naturalization" is a "humbug," and that it is an "impossibility." So did not our fathers think. This "humbug" and "impossibility" they planted in the Constitution, and a vindication of the same principle was one of the causes of the second war of independence. England held that "naturalization" was an impossible thing. She claimed the allegiance of subjects born within her realm, notwithstanding they had become citizens of this republic by our constitution and laws. She not only claimed their allegiance, but she claimed the right to search our ships upon the high seas, and take from them all such who might be found in them. It was in pursuit of this doctrine of hers—of the right to search for our "naturalized" citizens—that the Chesapeake was fired into, which was the immediate cause of the war of 1812.

Let no man then, barely because he was born in America, presume to be imbued with real and true Americanism who either ignores the direct and positive obligation of the Constitution, or ignores this, one of its most striking characteristics. As well might any unbelieving sinner claim to be one of the faithful, one of the elect—even barely because he was born somewhere within the limits of Christendom. And just as well might the Jacobins, who "deceived God out of his Universe," have dubbed their club a "Christian Association," because they were born on Christian soil. The genuine disciples of "true Americanism," like the genuine followers of the Cross, are those whose hearts are warmed and fired, elevated and ennobled—by those principles, doctrines and precepts which characterize their respective systems. It is for this reason that a Kamachikan, a Briton, a Jew, or a Hindu, can be as good a Christian as any one born on "Calvary's brow," or where the "Sermon on the Mount" was preached! And for the same reason an Irishman, a Freetchman, a German or Russian, can be as thoroughly "American" as if he had been born within the walls of old Independence Hall itself. Which was the "true American," Arnold or Hamilton? The one was a native the other was an adopted son. But to return. What do our Georgia friends intend to do? Is it not time that they had shown their hand? Do they intend to abandon the Georgia Platform, and go over, "horse, foot and dragons" into a political alliance with Trumbull, Durkee, Wilson & Co.? Is this the course marked out for themselves by any of the gallant old Whigs of the 7th and 8th Congressional Districts? I trust not. I hope not. But if they do not intend thus to commit themselves, is it not time to pause and reflect? Is it not time to take a reckoning and see whether they are drifting? When "the blind lead the blind" where is the hope of safety?

I have been cited to the resolution which, it is said, the late Know Nothing Convention passed in Macon. This, it seems, is the only thing that the six hundred delegates could bring forth after a two days "labor"—and of it we may well say, "Montes parituri et ridiculus mus nascitur."—"The mountains have been in labor and a ridiculous mouse is born." It simply affirms, most meekly and submissively, what no man south of Mason and Dixon's line for the last thirty-five years would venture to deny, without justly subjected himself to the charge of incivism—that is, that "Congress has no constitutional power to intervene by excluding a new State applying for admission into the Union, upon the ground that the constitution of such State recognizes slavery." This is the whole life and soul of it, unless we except the secret blade of Job which it bears towards Kansas and Nebraska, concealed under a garb. It is well known to all who are informed, that in the organic law of these territories the right of voting, while they remain territories, was given to all who had filed a declaration of intention to become citizens. This was in strict compliance with the usual practice of the Government in organizing territories; and under this provision that class of persons are now entitled to vote. Kansas, in two elections under this law, has shown that an overwhelming majority of her people are in favor of slavery, notwithstanding all the Executive influence of the Free Soil Governor (Reeder) whom Mr. Pierce sent out there to prevent it; but whom the people have lately driven, as they ought to have done, from the country. Now then, when Kansas applies for admission as a slave State, as she doubtless will, a Southern "Know-Nothing" under this resolution, can unite with his "worthy brethren" at the North, in voting against it, upon the ground that some have voted for a Constitution recognizing slavery, who had not been "naturalized," but had only declared their intention. For this resolution, in its very heart and core, declares that the right to establish slave constitutions "in the organization of State Governments, belongs to the NATIVE and NATURALIZED citizens," excluding those who have only declared their intention. A more insidious attack was never made upon the principles of the Kansas and Nebraska Bill. And is this to be the plank upon which Northern and Southern "Know-Nothings" are to stand in the rejection of Kansas!

But to the other and main object to the resolution, why did it stop with a simple denial of the power of Congress to reject a State on account of slavery? Particularly when it had opened the door for the rejection of Kansas on other grounds by way of pretext? Why did it not go further and declare that no State should be admitted into the Union, until it had been declared by Congress to be a Slave State? So far from this it does not even affirm that such rejection by their "worthy brethren" of the North would be sufficient cause for severing their party affiliation with them for it. Again I would say, not only to the old Whigs of the 7th and 8th Congressional Districts, but to all true Georgians, whether Whigs or Democrats, Union men or Fire-Eaters, whether are you drifting? Will you not pause and reflect? Are we about to witness in this instance cry against foreigners and Catholics a fulfillment of the ancient Latin proverb, "Quem Dei vult perdere prius dementat?"—"Whom the Gods intend to destroy they first make mad!" The times are indeed portentous of evil. The political horizon is shrouded in darkness. No man knows when he awakes, whether he be friend or foe, except those who have the dim glare of the covered light which their secret signs impart. And how long this will be a protection even to them, is by no means certain. They have already made truth and veracity almost a by-word and a reproach. When truth loses caste with any people—it is no longer considered a virtue, and its daily and hourly violations are looked upon with no concern but a jeer or a laugh—it requires but little forecast to see what will very soon be the character of that people. But, sir, come what may, I shall pursue that course which a sense of duty demands of me. While I hope for the best, I shall be prepared for the worst; and if the "worst comes to the worst," as it may, I shall, in common with my fellow-citizens, bear with patience my part of the common ill. They will affect me quite as little as any other citizen, for I have but little at stake; and so far as my public position and character are concerned, I shall enjoy that consolation which is derived from a precept taught me in early life, and which I shall ever cherish and treasure, whatever fortune betide me:

"But if, on life's uncertain main,
Misadventure shall mar thy sail,
If, faithful, firm and true in vain,
Woe, want, and exile thou sustain,
Spend not a sigh on fortune changed."

ALEXANDER H. STEPHENS.

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